595 place to another. [312] The wives of the Caribs pretend to be brave and they take care not to show their jealousy. But however hard they try, jealousy shows itself. It appears that they have reason to be jealous, for the custom is that a wife having lived for one month with her husband should retire yielding her place to another. Sometimes, however, a man stays for a full year with another, abandoning the one he had chosen previously, and she feels this sharply. If she betrays her [684] husband he will not fail to kill her. I have seen captains who tell their sons-in-law to go and sleep with their wives, for otherwise the captains say, they will give their daughters to others and this has happened 587 several times. [208] When women die the men remarry, and when men die the women take other husbands. If these husbands also die, they can take other husbands. [269]

● 841 The Carib women do not approach anyone when they have their menstrual cycle upset and they will not allow anyone to approach them, no matter what bad treatment they receive for this conduct, because they believe that this would upset the cycle more. [298]

606 The young married people turn aside to avoid speaking and meeting their fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. When I observed this I asked them why they avoided speaking with people who are so useful to them. Their reply was, "It is not permitted for me. I dare not do it." [301] "Your mother-in-law is troublesome to you when she does not see her husband." [136]

601 Acátobou is a maternal uncle, i.e. mother's brother. Neukêcayem is an uncle who has married a maternal aunt. Naheupouli is an aunt. Ninántaganun is the term by which uncles call their nephews who are sons of their sisters. The aunts call these nephews ibátomon. Uncles and aunts call their nieces nibáche. Uncles and aunts call the children of their nephews nínibotte, nitamotte. The children of nephews call their great uncles and great aunts by the same term that their fathers use for these very same relatives. First cousins whom we call sons of the father's brother are called "brother." The brothers of the father are also called "father." The children of brothers never marry among themselves. But if the sisters of their fathers should have daughters they may well marry them. If there should bé no daughters these male cousins are called iapátagnum. Girl cousins call their maternal male cousins nígatou when their sisters do not marry them, and in this case the boy cousins call these girl cousins niotille atonum. However, if these boy cousins should take these girl cousins in marriage, the female cousin is

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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scale of worth than his present want—I do not say need, advisedly: I have seen a girl starve her baby in order to procure it a baptismal robe it would use only once. When he has made up his mind to buy or sell, the worst bargain in the world will not deter the Carib, nor persuade him to await a better opportunity. On the other hand, he will let you vainly wait months for a basket or some other article you have ordered from him, and appear dissatisfied, if and when he finally condescends to bring it, with the price originally set by himself.

For a number of reasons I have not been able to push my inquiries into Carib life and lore—and especially with regard to the archeological material, which I believe to be plentiful—as far as I should have wished. Perhaps the same petty jealousies of which I have spoken prevented some members of the tribe from communicating to me—or at least prompted them to demand exorbitant sums for their only possibly valuable information—all that they knew of their nation's language and legend. Less excusable is the crass ignorance of many Creoles, white and colored alike, in a position to know better, as to the nature and aims of ethnological research. The ridicule and suspicions of such individuals in a pseudo-civilized community inevitably render the student's task all the harder. On the other hand, I am profoundly grateful to those others with whom I have come in contact, of whatever color or race, for their sincere collaboration and loyal friendship.

Social and Sexual

Social organization, in as far as it can be said to exist at all, is extremely slack among the Caribs today, and appears to have been so always. Previously there were two chiefs in Dominica: One for the windward side, another for the leeward side of the island, but their authority was never more than of an advisory or paternal nature, even where it was combined with that of magnétiseur or sorcerer. Even the punishment of crimes committed within the tribe was left to the individuals or family concerned. The chiefs, though often of the same family, seem to have been chosen by common consent for some recognized superiority or sagacity (ordeals of pain or hunger endurance were common) rather than by hereditary privilege. In war time, on the contrary, supreme authority was given to another commander, or war chief, who usually led the combined armies of Dominica and Guadeloupe. Today, in spite of certain local prejudices and jealousies, the only social unit which can be said to subsist is the family.

No puberty ceremonies have survived. Nevertheless, girls and women maintain a certain seclusion at their menstrual periods, especially the first, and do not leave the house, even to bathe in the river or for their personal necessities. Were they to do so, it is said

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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841 that the "fresh" odor of their blood would cause the "dog spirits" to follow and attack them and any other person who might take the same track. Actual contact with such blood would bring about local swelling, while any man so foolish as to have connection with a menstruating woman would inevitably suffer from severe backache and general debility for some time after. In Creole patois, a woman's menstrual period is known as her moon, and the Indians, formerly at any rate, held the moon to be responsible for this "sickness."

836 Chastity is not considered of importance in the unmarried, whether
848 man or woman, as is evinced by the prevalence and good treatment of "outside children" in married households. Without demur, a husband will often support, together with his own legitimate offspring, three or four of his wife's children from various prenuptial lovers; his own illegitimate progeny, if any, remain with their mother.
[837] Conjugal infidelity, while regarded in a more serious light, seldom, if ever, leads to a permanent separation or estrangement.

836 Love, as we understand it, is not recognized, although instances of it no doubt exist. Carib girls usually are taken, soon after if not before they reach puberty, by surprise attack, although not by force. By that I mean (and I understand the word *wārikɑd* to mean) that a young man will watch for an opportunity and ambush a girl when she goes to the river or into the woods alone. If discovered, he will chase, catch, and hold her by force, although he will not resort to rape if she still resists him. The curious thing about this is that in no case will the girl shout or call for help or otherwise betray her presence to anyone passing near, when once she is caught; while, on the other hand, even should she submit, she probably will go straight home and tell her mother, knowing full well that in all likelihood she will receive a beating in consequence. This attitude may be explained, perhaps, by the Carib girl's profound sense of shame (see word *couquia*), combined with deep-rooted inherent passivity.

581 The aims of marriage are practical, the main reason being the desire to found a family as an independent economic unit. No established custom with regard to marriageable parties is recognized today, but marriages between crossed cousins (a girl with her paternal aunt's son, a boy with his maternal uncle's daughter) are still common. Although no prenuptial tasks are demanded of the Carib youth today, certain restrictions are sometimes placed on him during his period of courtship, which, for example, may be limited to a monthly or bimonthly visit.

585 Weddings (as also baptisms) are celebrated according to the rites
591 of the Catholic Church, and are followed by a dance and drinking bout in the home of the bride's parents, where the couple henceforth take up their residence until such time as they are able to build and establish a home of their own.

8: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1950 .
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On the other hand, a new-born child may be adversely affected by the diet or activities not only of its mother and father, but also by those of any others who come near it. Mother and child should not be visited, moreover, by persons who are in any way "abnormal." For the Carib this includes—besides those who are deformed, disabled, or lacking in some sense or faculty—all who are, to use a current expression, "heaty": this epithet being applicable both to pregnant or menstruating women, and to anyone who is momentarily heated by exertion, excitement, or emotion.

Girls and women are required to observe both dietary and occupational restrictions during their menstrual periods. At these times, they must on no account eat any products of the chase killed by dog or gun. One informant told how his dogs had inexplicably become heavy and incapable of speed; and how, on hearing a sort of slopping noise in their bellies, he had made investigations, and discovered that his own sister, out of gluttony, had concealed her condition and partaken of his last catch. Some say that a gun or dogs so "spoiled" may be "blessed," and thus put back to rights; but that in this case, it is the guilty woman who will then suffer for her negligence. Nor must menstruating women handle the hunter's dogs or weapons, cook food, or take part in ceremonial songs and dances. They should not, moreover, wander abroad nor bathe in the river, since spirits of the bush and of the water alike are addicted to women in this condition.

In British Honduras, though no longer in Dominica, the bereaved spouse must observe certain restrictions on diet and freedom of movement; but the extent and duration of these are largely dependent, at the present time, upon the degree of conservatism prevailing in the family concerned. However, it is generally held to be dangerous for a widow to go to the manioc-field for several months—some say eight—after the death of her husband.

From a comparison of the two sets of data, it seems clear, at least, that the "mystical participation" of the father in the life of his new-born child was—and is—by no means unique in Island Carib concept; and that the form, duration, and sanctions for the restrictions tended to be the same when these were undergone for one's own sake alone as when they were imposed, primarily, for that of another. As we have seen, not only the new-born child, but also its father, the sick and the wounded, and, in fact, all those turning one of life's critical corners, are or were thought to be endangered by a sort of physical exuberance emanating from heated, overfed, sexually or otherwise excited, pregnant, or menstruating bodies, be it their own or those of others associating with them. For the seventeenth century, the same period of seclusion—one or two months—is indicated for the bereaved, the slayer, the new father of a first child, or the adolescent; and for the first three of these, the same sanctions—growing old sooner, being less sure-footed, etc.—are mentioned explicitly. The voluntarily undergone deprivations and sufferings of the old-time Carib

8: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1950
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784 were not intended to assist the spirit of a deceased spouse or parent, nor to
751 atone for the slaying of an enemy; but rather were they meant to protect the living by a procedure which can only be described as "turning off the heat" at those points most susceptible to contagion or attack; and the same was probably true in the case of neophytes and adolescents. For obvious reasons, the new-born, the sick, and the wounded had more to fear from others' exuberant "humors" than from their own; and the bathing, after a nocturnal delivery, of all the household's possibly sexually excited men, the taboo against the visits of married or newly married people to those who were sick, and the modern avoidance of confined mother and child by those who are "heaty," all tend to the same conclusion: that we are not justified in regarding the "couvade" as a distinct phenomenon as far as this culture is concerned.

784 It is understandable that there should be some ambiguity in the situation
846 of new parents of a first child, since they, as well as their offspring, are at a vital turning-point, and hence in need of protection. Nor is it surprising that the new mother must submit to some chastening of her "animal spirits"; for, attenuated as these may be by her confinement, they still would be "too strong" for the baby she has to suckle, if not indeed sufficiently so as to endanger herself. It is noteworthy that the same period of seclusion as is observed today—forty days—was reported by du Tertre in the seventeenth century; and if the old chronicles say little about the parturient's regimen, it is doubtless because they assumed it to be analogous to that current in their own culture. Rather naturally, what struck them was that the father's physical exuberance should be feared—for himself, for his wife, and for the child; and that if his first-born were a son, he must fast more rigorously than the mother. But it would appear that he also possessed, in his own body, a valuable antidote to the evil effects which another's—or even his own—negligence might bring upon the infant; for we are told that a sickly child was rubbed with blood which the father drew from himself by scarification; and we have seen that his sweat is held at the present time to have similar therapeutic virtues when employed in the same way.

784 In most cultures and at most times, various restrictions have been placed
● 841 on menstruating women; yet without the concept of some mystical intercourse between killer and killed, eater and eaten, it would be hard to explain how a hunter's dog (or gun) could be contaminated by a menstruating woman's ingestion of its catch, or how such a woman could then be affected by the "blessing" of the injured instrument.

784 Despite the considerable differences of content and extension which distinguish the dietary and occupational restrictions of 1950 from those of 1650, we still may recognize the same underlying conceptual pattern of "contagion." By this term is to be understood here the sum of potentially harmful or undesirable factors—be they impersonal forces or spirits—to which an individual

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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824X

An acaulescent herb widely distributed in the West Indies and tropical South America. The plant is to be found in Dominica on open grassy slopes at lower elevations.

The tunicated bulbs are said to be eaten by the older generation presumably as we do those of onions. Also, a decoction made from the bulb is taken by women at the time of their menopause or to relieve painful or irregular menstruation. [262] [278] [841]

Specimen citation: 3 (T), 3188.

Trimezia martinicensis (Jacquin) Herbert, Bot. Reg. 30. misc. 88. 1844.

Cipura martinicensis Kunth, Nov. Gen. & Sp. 1 (1816) 321.

Coco Chat.

This little yellow flower is to be found on grassy slopes throughout the West Indies and continental tropical America.

The corms of this species possess an acrid yellow juice. They are grated by the Carib and mixed with other unknown ingredients. This mixture is then kept by an individual on his person as a charm to ensure success if he gets into a fight. [789]

Specimen citation: 3304.

MUSACEAE. Banana Family.

Heliconia bihai Linnaeus Mant. 2: 211. 1771.

Bihai bihai Griggs in Bull. Torr. Bot. Club 31: 445. (1904). as to source of name only.

Wild Plantain. — Balisier. — *balíri*. (cf. *balúru*).

This species with bicolored bracts is probably to be found throughout the Lesser Antilles. In Dominica it occurs, often in colonies, on wet open slopes or along streambanks at middle and higher elevations.

Balisier leaves are used by the Caribs to cover temporary shelters in the woods (ajoupas), as waterproof lining material between the inner and outer layer of certain basket types (larouman paniers) in areas where cachibou (*Calathea lutea*) is not available, and as a « paper » substitute to wrap up fish, game, etc. Leaves of balisier are also utilized to wrap up, a) fish for roasting [342] [415 252]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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PORTULACACEAE. Purslane Family. 824x

Portulaca oleracea Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 445. 1753.
Purslane. — Coupié, Pourpier.

A cosmopolitan weed of gardens and waste lands throughout the temperate and tropical regions of the world.

The boiled leaves of coupié are eaten by the Caribs (and the Creoles) as a green vegetable, but they are also employed as a plaster or poultice on the loins in order to ease backache or painful menstruation. For the latter purpose the leaves are often mixed with kudjuruk (*Petiveria alliacea*). [262 278 841]

Specimen citation: 107 (T).

ANNONACEAE. Custard-apple Family.

Annona muricata Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 536. 1753.
Soursop. — Corossol. — *ualápana* (cf. Taino *uanibana*).

A familiar tree of the West Indies and grown throughout the tropics for its fruit which is used as a table fruit or more often to make delicious sorbetes or to flavor ice cream.

Cultivated specimens supply the Caribs with a source of a refreshing fruit juice which is used as an unfermented drink. [272 273] A fermented drink formerly was prepared from chewed up fruits. The fruit is believed to induce lactation in women if, 1) eaten alone; 2) if used locally as a poultice; or 3) if used as one ingredient in a tea which also includes a momben leaf (*Spondias mombin*), two leaves of 'ti baume (*Hyptis atrorubens*), three leaves of trois quarts (*Passiflora* sp.) and a fruit of kurupum (*Myrcia citrifolia*). [853] A painful retroverted uterus (called « mal de mère ») is treated with a tea made from three leaves of corossol, two leaves of bois cassave (*Cornutia pyramidata*), and one sprig of l'anis (*Anethum graveolens*). A tea supposed to cure gonorrhea has included in its preparation a piece of the root of the corossol (see *Solanum torvum*); while a ritual tea used against diarrhea also employs leaves of corossol (see *Ocimum micranthum*). The fruit must not be eaten by those going fishing as it would prevent [226] 278 824x